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SPEECH

#### GEN. THOMAS EWING

AT GALLIPOLIS, OHIO,

FELLOW-CITIZENS: About ten days ago two

of the heads of departments at Washington illustrated civil-service reform by taking the stump in Ohio for the administration candidate for Governor. They took my Lancaster speech as a text, and discussed such parts of it as they could most plausibly answer and dodged the rest. In the pauses between other and previous engagements in the campaign I have examined their speeches and now reply to them: Mr. Schurz, who is relied on every year by the Ohio Republicans to shoo Democrats into Republican ranks by shouting "Inflation!" reats with some variation his specious and extravagant speech of last year. He makes a frantic effort to prove toat the success of the Ohio Democracy means abandonment of re-Ohio Democracy means abandonment of resumption and return to paper money not limited by redeemability in coin, and, therefore, unlimited in volume; and he thereupon proceeded to fight us on the ground on which he places us instead of on that which in fact we occupy. Our platform says not a word against resumption; not a word for irredeemable currency; not a word for any increase of the currency, except that which will come from the unlimited coinage of the old silver dollar and the Issue of certificates for silver bullion.

But Mr. Schurz says, though a return to an But Mr. Schurz says, though a return to an irredeemable currency is not expressly declared for in the Democratic platform, it is necessarily involved in the proposition to substitute legal-tender notes for national-bank notes. He reasons thus: The United States now has the burden of redeeming only the graphysics in coin.

sons thus: The United States now has the burden of redeeming only the greenbacks in cointon national banks having to look after the redemption of their own paper. If we substitute treasury notes for bank notes, we shall thus double the burdens of resumption on the United States. That involves doubling the coin held for redemption purposes. But that coin reserve can not be doubled, because the coin can't be got; nor can it even be increased without increasing the public debt; and the Ohio Democracy declare against any increase of that debt. Hence, the substitution of treasury notes for bank notes nocessarily involves the abandonment of resumption and a return to an irredeemable paper currency.

This reasoning is the warp and woof of the fabric of Mr. Schura's speech. It is utterly fallacious, and betrays an astonishing ignorance either of the laws affecting resumption, or of the intelligence of the people sought to be influenced by his false and dazzling rhetoric. Listen, now, my fellow-citizens, to this provision

force:

\* \* \* "When the circulating notes of any such [National Banking] Association, assorted or unassorted, shall be presented for redemption in sums of \$1,000, or any multiple thereof, to the Treasurer of the United States, the same shall be redeemed in United States

This is all the redemption there is, in fact, of national-bank notes, because each bank is only bound to redeem its own notes, and no man can collect out of the general circulation any considerable number of the notes of the bank of his immediate locality. Hence, the United States, in effect, alone redeems the bank notes, and the same officer who redeems greenbacks in coin redeems bank notes in greenbacks, now, suppose you want \$1,000 in gold; you can only get it by presenting to the Treasurer or Sub-Treasurer of the United States \$1,000 in Sub-Treasurer of the United States \$1,000 in greenbacks or in national-bank notes. It makes no difference which you present. Suppose, if you present bank notes and demand coin, the Treasurer should say: "I am' not bound to pay you in coin." Your answer will be: "Then pay me in greenbacks," And when he hands you the greenbacks you will hand them back and say: "Now pay me in coin." Does not the United States, therefore, in fact and effect redeem equally greenbacks and bank notes in coin? Is not the burden of furnishing the coin for the entire paper circulation wholly on the United States? Would that burden be increased a dollar by substituting greenbacks for bank notes? There is no school-boy in Ohio who, on reading that law, would not see that Sub-Treasurer of the United States \$1,000 in bank notes? There is no school-boy in Ohio who, on reading that law, would not see that both Mr. Schurz and Mr. Sherman are falsifying the facts when they assert that the substitution of legal tenders for bank notes either increases the burden of resumption or impairs its stability. Yet on this shallow invention is built almost the whole structure of their arguments on the money question against the position of the Ohio Democracy.

The twin Secretaries make merry over my The twin Secretaries make merry over my speeches in 1875 and 1877 against resumption, in which I declared that it was impracticable, and would result in "a general massacre of business." I can read those speeches now without being at all ashamed of the matter or the manner of them. They were spoken from conviction in view of the law and the situation at their existing and in requiring existing existing a speech of the secretary the manner of them. They were spoken from conviction in view of the law and the situation as then existing, and in no spirit of extravagance or partisanship. Judging the law as it stood, my criticisms were sound. But subsequent legislation greatly changed the scheme of resumption. As it originally stood, it provided for the total destruction of the greenback currency. So Mr. Sharman admitted on the day he introduced the bill in the Senate. So Mr. Bristow declared in his report for 1875, saying that "the faith of the Government now stands pledged to the final redemption and removal from the currency of the country of the legal-tender notes as fast as they shall be presented for redemption." So Mr. Morrill declared in his report for 1875, in which he says that "by the Resumption law Congress declared in effect a monetary system composed of coin, and nationa-lbank notes redeemable in coin." The scheme, too, not only involved the destruction of all the greenbacks, but also contemplated redemption in gold alone—zilver having been stealthily demonetized in advance of the Resumption law.

This was the programme of resumption when I discussed it in the speeches now criticised and ridiculed by these gentlemen. But since then, and as a result of the agitation against the scheme by the Western and Southern Democracy, and in spite of all the opposition of Sherman, Schurz & Co., the destruction of the greenback money was stopped, and \$346,000,000 of it saved from destruction. To the stopped of the the stoppage of this sweeping contraction of the currency the people owe the fact that their business was only maimed by the resumption scheme—not "massacred." Moreover, silver has been partially remonetized by the efforts my predictions of the disastrous effect of the resumption scheme, and its certain failure—enough being coined to protect the gold in the treasury from being drained off after resumption day.

fron day.

In a debate in the Senate on May 28, 1878, Mr. Blaine expressed the opinion common among the friends and the enemies of forced gold resumption when he said in the Senate:

"Undoubtedly, the whole question of resumption has been changed by the coinage of the silver dollar. The Secretary of the Treasury may begin resumption to morrow with \$10,000,000 in silver, in my judgment, with perfect safety. For resumption in silver you have got plenty. For resumption in gold you have not got half enough." To this partial restoration of silver and to three enormous crops in the of silver and to three enormous crops in the United States, accompanied by three failures of crops in Europe, which have turned the halance of trade largely in our favor, Mr. Sherman owes the fact that he has so far equaled his great prototype, Sir Robert Peel, in reaching and maintaining resumption; while he has far and maintaining resumption; while he has far surpassed him in the miseries inflicted on the people in his march to his bad eminence.

Not only has the Resumption law been made by our efforts less disastrous by stopping the destruction of the greenback currency, and less impracticable by the remonetization of silver, and the unexampled succession of large crops at home and eager markets abroad, but it is also to be borne in mind that the result attained is not, in fact, resumption. We have equalizais not, in fact, resumption. We have equaliza-tion only, not resumption. Resumption, as promised by its advocates and understood by the people, was the free circulation of gold, s lver and paper, and their interchange at all the bank counters in the United States There will be no resumption in fact until every bank in the United States receives deposits of con and paper without distinction, and pays demands in either form of money the holder may prefer. Such is not now the case. Gold is no prefer. Such is not now the case. Gold is no more in general circulation now than it was five years ago. There is, in effect, none in the bank vaults. No man in Ohio can get a thousand dollars in gold without paying as a premium the cost of expressage to and from New York. A friend of mine the other day at Columbus—a city of 50,000 inhabitants, with a dozen bank—wanted to get two \$20 gold pieces as presents for his daughters, and went from bank to bank in with a four the property of the property of

in vain to find them.

Instead of resumption the people have mere-

flows from the veins and arteries of business and congests in the vaults of hoarders. It is true "that every step under the Resumption act has had a tendency to reduce prices, and to lead us thus slowly and surely to the specie standard;" and it is just this steady and protracted fall of prices, caused by the Resumption law, of which the people have complained. But to assert that it has produced "easy times is preposterous, unless easy times are those in which money shrinks from all investment or loan in productive industry, while it seeks investment in 4-per-cent. Tovernment bonds, or is loaned only on collaterals which can be converted 1:to money on a day's notice.

The two Seoretaries bring to the people of Ohio the intelligence that prosperous times have come sgain; that all labor is fully employed and well paid; every branch of manufacturing industry prosperous; trade flourishing, and that we all have reason to rejoice and be content with the present cituation. I admit that some special branches of business are in better condition than before the Democracy stopped contraction and partially remonetized silver, but I cannot learn of any general revival of business. The iron industries are specially quoted as reviving rapidly, yet a Pittsburgh friend, who is manufacturing iron, told me the other day that wages have not increased at all, and that there is a very large surplus of labor. Hanging Rock mill and foundry iron sells this year lower than last, and sold last year lower than the year before. ly equalization of paper and coin; that is, gold prices for their lands, labor and products; that is, \$2.25 per 100 for their pork, 90 cents per bushel for their wheat, and 75 cents to \$1 per day for their labor, with which to pay enormous and undiminishing taxes and debts, contracted when their products and labor were worth over 50 per cent, more than they are to-day. It is true the money as well by a dayle tracted when their products and labor were worth over 50 per cent. more than they are today. It is true the money sarned by a day's
labor will buy about as much as a day's earnings would have bought four years ago. It is
true the money got for 100 pounds of pork or
a bushel of grain will buy about as much as
the money got for the same products four
years ago. Here is neither gain nor loss. But
it is also true that every man's debts and taxes
cost him in labor or products 50 per cent more
to pay them now than four years ago.

The debts of the country, public, corporate
and private, running from four years ago,
amount to not less, as I have heretofore repeatedly shown, than \$10,000,000,000. This
shrinkage of values results in compelling the
payment of debts with 50 per cent more of
labor and property, and in effect adds \$5,000,
000,000 to the weight of that vast debt burden.
Our taxes, national and local, amount, in the
aggregate, to \$800,000,000 each year. This
shrinkage of values increases the tax burden
one-half, or \$400,000,000 a year. That increase
amounts to interest at 4 per cent on \$10,000,
000,000, more than one-third of the present
wealth of the country.

Messers. Sherman and Schurz adroitly and
elaborately satempt to convince the people that
there is yast gain in increasing the purchasing

Messrs. Sherman and Schurz adroitiy and elaborately attempt to convince the people that there is vast gain in increasing the purchasing power of their money. I deny it. The greenback of 1874 was precisely as good for all the purposes of business in the hands of the producers and exchangers of wealth as the greenback of 1879. It is true the greenback dollar now brys 59 per cent more than it bought then, but it takes 50 per cent more of wheat, park, land or labor to get it now than then. There is no gain at all to the industrial classes by this appreciation of the dollar, which means merely the lowering of prices of land, lator and products. When we consider the vast distress inflicted upon the industrial elasses in the process of forcing prices down to the low gold level, and the vast addition to debt and tax burdens which are necessary consequences of that reduction of values, the pretended advantage of adding 50 per cent to the purchasing power of our paper currency is met by a set-off of losses a hundred times greater than the vaunted gain. The two Secretaries think it fine sport to underrate and ridicule the industrial distresses and disasters which have strewn with the wrecks of lives and fortunes the pathway to resumption. The fiddling Nero was once delighted at a somewhat similar spectacle. I doubt if their fun will be shared by the masses of the people. The ore diggers, the furnace may the coal miners, the day laborers, and mechanics and tradesmen, and mortgagers and other debtors throughout Ohio have not found the cup of resumption and demonstization a cheering one. Distressful days and sicepless nights, scanty food and ranged clothes, lost homes and broken hearts have been the price of resumption to them.

Mr. Sherman attempts to make me appear ridiculous by asserting that I attributed the dundry from sells this year lower than last, and sold last year lower than the year before.

I saw hundreds of ore-diggers in Lawrence county last week whose average wages don't exceed 50 cents a day. The coal mined in the Hocking valley—one-third of the whole product of the State—sells on the cars now at 55 to 75 cents a ton, against 90 cents last year, \$1 the year before and \$1.50 the year after the panic, The coal-diggers there now get 50 cents a ton and half work, as against 75 cents a ton and full work in 1874, the year after the panic, and the year before the industries of the country were put under the serew of preparation for gold resumption. Iron furnaces at Shawnee and Ogden, Stenbenville and Ashland, rolling-mills at Stenbenville, Marietta and Pomeroy, have recently been sold at from a fourth to a sixth of their cost. Salt, which sold at the furnace at an average or \$1.26 per barrel. The iron, coal and salt industries of Ohio, so far as I can learn, are paying, where best managed, only the cost of production, and that based on starvation wages—counting their capital and investment as nothing. That is the extent of the boom which is always gotten up in speeches and newspapers by the Republican party in its important campaigns. I believe it to be true that business generally in Ohio is almost as unprosperous now as it was in 1878 or 1877; that the condition of debtors generally whose debts amount to one-fourth of the estimated value of their property four years ago is in effect hopeless; that the burden of taxes increased through fallen prices is almost intolerably oppressive; and I further believe that the people ought to and must have a rise of prices above the present low gold level before general prosperity can possibly return.

This relief is offered by the Democracy in the bill which passed the House of Representatives

of resumption to them.

Mr. Sherman attempts to make me appear ridiculous by asserting that I attributed the panic of 1873 to the Resumption act of 1875. That is not a perversion of anything I ever said, but merely a pure invention. I have always attributed the panic of 1873 in chief part to the contraction of the currency which went on steadily after 1856, causing an expansion of credits to take the place of diminishing currency, which credits collapsed in the panic.

But Mr. Sherman says 4 to amount of paper money outstanding on the 30th of June, 1873, was more than it was on the 30th of June, 1873, was 5749,440,000; and on the 30th of June, 1865, was but \$747,283,000. I answer this assertion by quoting from his own report, issued from the Treasury Department on the lat of July last, giving the "total amount of currency outstanding" at various dates as follows:

June 39, 1865. prosperity can possibly return.

This relief is offered by the Democracy in the bill which passed the House of Representatives last session, and will unquestionably pass the Senate next session, for the unlimited coinage of the old silver dollar and the issue of certificates for silver bullion. That act would cause an easy increase of metallic money, or of paper representing and redeemable in metallic money of from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000, followed by a yearly increase of \$30,000,000 or \$40,000.

This would raise price, very nearly to the old bimetallic level, lightening the burdens of debts and taxes, stimulating industries and bringing into play all the productive energies of our people. It is a great wholesome, indispensable measure of relief; open to no just criticism either in respect of its honesty or sound policy. It will bring down the purchasing power of gold, which has been dishonestly increased by the demonetization of silver—an act to which the American people never consented—done in the dark by some rascal for the purpose of robbing the masses and piling up the fortunes of the moneyed class.

\$223,256,000

statement as Secretary on the 18th of July and his statements as stump-orator on the 20th of August of over \$223,000,000.

But there are two kinds of contraction, both

But there are two kinds or contraction, year equally effective in shrinking values; one is by actual reduction of the currency; the other by the growth of business, the currency remaining stationary. The demand of business for cur-rency may be assumed to increase approxi-mately in proportion to increase of population.

rency may be assumed to increase approxi-mately in proportion to increase of population. The actual currency in 1805, according to this treasury statement of Mr. Sherman, was \$28 per capita, while the actual currency in 1873, by the same statement, was but \$17.85 per capi-ta, being a reduction of over one-third. Before the contraction of our currency our people and our cities and our counties were very little in debt, as statistics and records and experience attest. With the contraction which followed up to 1873 came the expansion of credits to maintain business. The enormous

ndustry and confiscated the property of debt-

Mr. Sherman asserts that not only had we

of the currency now outstanding includes \$74,-000,000 greenbacks withdrawn from circulation and hoarded in the treasury, and \$125,000,000 which the Comptroller of the Currency in his speech to the national bankers at Saratoga last

Mr. Sherman now asserts that the panic of 1873 was caused by an inflated and irredeemable currency. But here is his speech in the United States Senate, made on the 18th of January, 1874, in which he says: "Mr. President,

the condition of our currency has no relation whatever to the panic that has passed over the country. \* \* I never have charged the panic upon the currency. Indeed, I was the first in the midst of the panic to declare that

the currency had no connection with it. Money was secure. Men hoarded it \* \* \* These panies are but the ebb and flow of great enterprises. No action of ours can prevent them."

He now asserts that all the business dis-

resees and digited industries of the past four years were due to that panic, but in this same speech he declares that the effect of the panic was then past. I quote his language: "Confidence is restored, and every commodity is advanced to the price that it was before the

panic."

He now asserts that "experience has shown

easy times, restore confidence, reduce prices, advance the values of our currencies, and to lead us gently, slowly and surely to the specie standard." Could human ingenuity combine in one sentence a greater jumble of contradic-

tions? It is perfectly true that every step

gets it to market than when he bought it; the

manufacturer when he turns out his goods finds they have cost more for raw material and labor than they will sell for; the farmer must pay debts and taxes in products cou-stantly shrinking in value. Money loaned in

pose of robbing the masses and piling up the The two parties are squarely at issue on this question. Mr. Sherman and Mr. Schurz both take ground in favor of stopping the coinage of the silver dollar when the amount under existing law shall reach a sum supposed. to be the largest which will float at par with gold; or, on the other hand, adopting a new and more valuable silver dollar for the bene-fit of the creditor class. Either of these methfit of the creditor class. Either of these methods involves the perpetuation of the wrong inflicted upon the people by the secret and fraudulent act of demonstration. I thank these gentlemen for their frankness on this great question, and call on the people of Ohio to decide by their votes whether our great American money product shall be put on an even par with gold, and whether they will have the old dollar of the fathers or the new dollar of the Shvlocks.

of the Shylocks. Mr. Sherman, who was the first to propose the demonstization of silver in the interest of the moneyed class, attempts to sustain it by the following statement: "Many causes contribute to reduce the relative value of silver, and now it requires eighteen cunces of silver to be equal to one cunce of gold; and, therefore, the chief commercial countries have either wholly or partially suspended the coinage of silver."

He here, with studied vagueness, a serris that silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1 had depreciated as compared with gold, and for that reason was

followed up to 1873 came the expansion of credits to maintain business. The enormous grants by the Republican party of public lands to promote the premature construction of railways combined with this expansion of credits to bring on the collapse of 1873, from which the country, as Mr. Sherman stated in his speech in the Senate in 1874, had in effect recovered, when the demonstization of silver and forced resumption in gold set in motion the influences which have shrunk prices, paralyzed industry and confiscated the property of debtas compared with gold, and for that reason was demonetized; thus illustrating again his fluent disregard of facts. The truth is, the American Mr. Sherman asserts that not only had we more currency in 1878 than at the close of the war, but that we now have more than we ever had. In this Treasury Department statement of the 1st of July last he gives the total circulation at \$743,801,600 on the 1st of July, 1879, which is about \$14.87 per capita, as against \$17.85 per capita on the same day in 1875, and \$28 on the same day in 1805. This statement of the average row out tand the increase. silver dollar was always, since 1833, worth more than the American gold dollar down to the very date when it was demonstized, and at that date it stood at a premium of 3½ per cent. The depreciation of our silver, as compared with our gold dollar, was caused by the acts of demonstration accomplished through a pared with our gold dollar, was caused acts of demonetization, accomplished through a conspiracy of usurers. If Mr. Sherman does not know that fact, he is less informed on this subject than nine out of ten of his hearers. He ought to know why it was demonetized, for he introduced a bill for that purpose in the United States Senate in 1868, and advocated its demonstration before the congress of bondholdspeech to the national bankers at Saratoga last month says are hoarded by the national banks. Mr. Sherman attempts to sustain his assertion that the currency is greater now than ever by adding to the volume now afloat all the coin in the trea-ury held for redemption. If might just as reasonably count the gold in the mountains. The coin will stay in the treasury until the greenbacks are surrendered to take its place, and then the greenbacks will stay in until the coin comes back again. When one is circulating the other is hoarded, and both can't be counted as part of the circulation. States Senate in 1868, and advocated its de-monetization before the congress of bondhold-ers in Paris. The sole reason was that the in-satiable avarice of the bondholders of Europe and America sought to appreciate the value of their bonds and depreciate the value of all property and labor in which their bonds were payable by striking out of existence one-halt of the world's metallic money.

Mr. Sherman has the amazing recklessness to assert that "the Republican administration has been marked by a uniform decrease of expenditures, as shown by the official table of net ordinary expenditures;" and "the Demorate have been rapidly increasing appropriations since they have had control of Congress." He attempts to sustain these assertions by figures made up, not from published official reports, but from data of which the public has no information. I appeal from John Sherman on the stump to John Sherman in the treasury. khold in my hand his own last report to Cor gress, in a volume entitled "Finance Report, 1878." On page 17 is given the net ordinary expenditure of the Government (exclusive of premiums, interest and public debt), in which it is stated that those expenditures since 1870 were exactly as published by him:

He now asserts that "experience has shown that the Resumption as has not produced any distress;" but in his published examination before the Finance Committee of the Sanate last year, which was carefully revised by him before it went to the Public Printer, he says: The appropriations from 1871 to 1876 inclusive were made by the Republican Congresses, and those of 1877 and 1878 by a Democratic House. The Republicans run up these expenditures from \$150,000,000 in 1872 to an average of nearly \$178,000,000 for each of the four years "We have now passed through all the agony and struggle for resumption."

To crown the display of his characteristic versatility of assertion, Mr. Sherman says: "Suffice it to say that every step under the Re-sumption act has had a tendency to produce thereafter; while the Democrats reduced the expenditures for the two last years of the report to but little over \$139,000,000 per year, making an annual saving of over \$38,000,000. It is true that for 1879 the Democrats increased those appropriations to \$157, 000,000, and for 1880 to \$160,000,000; a chief part of which increase was claimed by the administration to be necessary because the Dem-ocratic House had cut down too much of the tions? It is perfectly true that every step toward resumption has tended to reduce prices, or, in other words, to advance the vame or purchasing power of money; but the assertion that a reduction of prices causes or can be accompanied by "easy times" contradicts all human experience and all authority on the nature and office of money. Falling prices have everywhere inflicted, and must necessarily inflict, industrial distress. There never has been a period in the history of this or any other country of falling prices, or, what is the same thing, rising value of money, which has not appropriations for the preceding years. But take the whole average of appropriations and expenditures for the four years of Republican rule, from 1873 to 1876 inclusive, and the result is as follows: That the Republicans expended an average of \$177,748,000 for the not ordinary expensitures of the Government, while the Democrats appropriated an average of \$140,-201,000, being a saving to the people by reason of Democratic economy of \$28,547,000 per year, or \$114,198,000 in the four years.

Mr. Sherman, in replying to my Lancaster thing, rising value of money, which has not been a period of distress of industries and op-pression of debtors and tax-payers. The reason is obvious. When prices are falling the goods of the merchant shrink in value on his shelf; the stock of the trader is worth less when he Mr. Sherman, in replying to my Lancaster speech, asserts that, so far from this economy being forced upon the administration by the Democratic Congress, we actually appropriated more than the departments asked for. Here the Finance Minister of our Government is equally at fault. Eor the year 1877 the administration asked a little over \$200,125,000 for ordinary expenditures; we gave it \$145, ,000 For the year 1878 the administration asked \$176,226,000; we gave it \$157,213,000. For the year 1880 it asked \$164,181,000; and we gave it \$160,919,000. So that the Democratic Congress has in four years prevented the ad-ministration from spending over \$120,000,000 productive enterprises is, therefore, withdrawn because the enterprises themse ves become un-prosperous and the loan hazardous; money

more than was necessary for the ordinary expenses of the Government. I say more than was necessary, for Mr. Sherman says that, during the four years of Democratic control over appropriations, "the administration has felt no restrain from insufficient appropriations in the great branches of the Government."

Mr. Sherman, in explaining the enormous appropriation of \$195,000,000 for the ordinary expenses of the Government in 1874, says that, "the appropriations for that year were purposely largely increased as a means of relief from the effect of the panic." Sympathetic Mr. Sherman! How good it was in you and your party to come to the relief of the struggling industries of the country! But the fact is, the appropriations for that year were made at the session of Congress which ended March 4, 1873—six months before the panic occurred. The excessive appropriation was due, therefore, to extravagance, and not to sympathy for the people.

fore, to extravagance, and not to sympathy for the people.

Messra Sherman and Schurz are distressed with apprehensions of danger to the Government from the Confederate Brigadiers. They cry out against the caucus, as though it was an invention of these Southern men to control the Democratic party and thus rule the country. They have themselves sat in more caucuses than they have hairs on their heads. What danger is there from Confederate Brigadiers? Not one of them has proposed any measure in Congress to impair any settlements of the war. They have over and over again declared that they and their people accept those settlements as final and never to be disturbed.

as final and never to be disturbed.

What more is demanded? Nothing. The Republican party has not asked for more. The outery against the Southern people for sending to Congress men who fought in the Confederate army is senseless and shameful. They have no other men of large experience and capacity to send. Would you force them to send only negroes and carpet-baggers? Would you undo the work of pacification which the President has done? Would you revoke the trade consummated by Mr. Foster, by which Packard, who got more votes in Louisiana for Governor than Hayes got for President, was counted out and Hayes counted in? Recollect, gentlemen of the Republican party, that the South has not the same large choice of non-combatants to select for high offices which the Republican party has. All her men and boys had to go into the Confederate army to mest our overwhelming numbers, while the North did not send a half of her men. In this respect the Republican party has the South at a big disadvantage. They can select such men as Messra. Sherman and Foster, who quietly stayed at home, while the unfortunate South has no noncombatants to prefer over her soldiers for high public honors.

Mr. Updegraff and Mr. Garfield said in effect

nome, while the unfortunate south has no noncombatants to prefer over her soldiers for high
public honors.

Mr. Updegraf and Mr. Garfield said in effect
at the Soldiers' Reunion, at Stenbenville the
other day, that when the South will consent
that the Government shall be conducted
on the accepted fact that the North
was right and the South was wrong on the great
issues of the war, then sectional strife should
cease. The Southern Representatives Lay admitted it. They do not admit, and we have no
right to expect them to admit, that they were
false to their convictions of duty in asserting
and maintaining the alleged right of secession.
But I assert that there is not one man from the
South in either house of Congress who does
not accept the decision of the war as the final
settlement of that question, or who does not
agree that all the amendments of the constitution made to give permanent effect to that
settlement shall be respected and obeyed and
executed by appropriate legislation. In view
of this it is mean and unpatriotic in the Republican leaders to keep up the senseless clamor
against the South, and prevent the restoration
of harmony and good will, without which the
sacrifices of the war were all in vain.

No ither Mr. Schurz nor Mr. Sherman has a
wornt to Lay justifying the use of troors at the
polls, for which they and the administration

Noticer Mr. Schurz nor Mr. Sherman has a worst to Lay justifying the use of troops at the polls, for which they and the administration fought so rigorously. They know that it is a power that is an alien and a foe to our republican system of Government, and that the determination of the ladministration to retain that power will meet the disapprobation of the people.

people.

But Mr. Schurz attempts to ridicule the stern demand of the Democracy to have that odious power wiped from our statute books. He says:

Does my same man think this administration capable of sending the Federal soldiers to the capable of sending the Federal soldiers to the ballot-box to overswe the freedom of the electors? \* \* \* The President withdrew the Federal soldiers from the legislative halls of the Southern States."

Yes, sir; that was when the President was

Yes, sir; that was when the President was playing the role of conservative; that was when he had just been put into power by a truck and dicker arrangement, got up by Mr. Foster: that was when both of them were crying out against Federal interference with State Legislatures and State elections, and were auxious for "the flag to float over States, not provinces." But a change has come over the spirit of their dreams. Mr. Foster pleads the "baby act," and the President has taken up all the low fellows in the Southern States whom he tramped down in getting to power, and given the low fellows in the Southern States whom he tramped down in getting to power, and given them high stations and good salaries. He is a stalwart now; has made up with all whom he offended by "withdrawing Federal soldiers from the legislative halls of the Southern States;" and is as lion-mettled as Zach Chandler. But whether he would or would not abuse the power, as Grant did, is not the question. The question is whether any President can constitutionally be given, or should have, the power to send troops to keep the peace at the polls, of to, in any way, intermeddle with State elections.

Mr. Sherman does not attempt to justify the Marshals and Supervisors law as either constitutional or expedient. Its unconstitutionality is demonstrable to any man of common intelligence, whether lawyer or layman. When the constitution was framed the whole control of elections of members of Congress was greeryed to the States; but Congress was given power to alter the State regulations as to the time, places and manner of helding such elections, because it was thought probable that it might be important to the General Government to have those elections all on one day or to have them held in single districts. Then it was suggested, at the very close of the debate, that possibly some States might refuse altogether to elect members of Congress; and in such event Congress ought to have power to make all necessary provisions for electing members of Congress in such States. Solely to provide for this contingency, as Mr. Madison says, the clause was finally amended so as to read as follows:

change was many antended so as or read as follows:

"SEC. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, but the Congress may at any time by law make or after such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators."

Now here is the constitution of Onio. It provides that "every white male citizen of the United States of the age of 21 years who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county, township or ward in which he resides such time as may be provided by law, shall have the qualifications of an elector and be entitled to vote at cations of an elector and be entitled to vote at Here is the Election law of the State provid-

Here is the Election law of the State providing for the election of members of Congress
and other officers. It provides how long a person must be a resident of the county, township and ward prior to the election to have the
right to vote; it provides how persons may gain
or lose a residence, and what facts shall determine a residence; it provides for dividing the
State into election districts, for furnishing ballot-boxes, fixing places of election, selecting
judges from residents of the election precincts,
and providing the whole manner of conducting
the elections, and of making returns and proclaiming results. All the officers so authorized
to conduct elections are State officers. They
derive their authority under and are sworn to
obey the State constitution and law. No one
disputes the authority of the State to conduct
these elections, or denies that this whole election
machinery, thus conducted and managed by machinery, thus conducted and managed by State officers, is valid and in full force and

But the Republican party, by its Federa Election law, has provided that two Federa Supervisors may be appointed at each one of these election precincts, with power to inspec the ballots of electors and determine wha the ballots of electors and determine wins votes shall be received and what votes rejected and if any State election officer refuses to sub-mit his judgment to that of the Federal Su-pervisors, the Supervisors may seize suc-election officer and drag him from the ballot election officer and drag him from the ballot-box to a Federal prison, to be indicted and tried for the felony of disobedience to these Federal interlopers. If a man's vote be shal-lenged, and the State judges, in disobedience to the State law, determine, on the facts pre-sented, that he is entitled to vote, the Fed-eral Supervisor may seize the elector before his ballot is put in and drag him off to a Fed-eral prison, although the power to define qual-ifications of electors, and, consequently, to provide for a method in which a right to vote may be determined, is, by the constitution of the United States, expressly reserved to the the United States, expressly reserved to the States, absolutely and unconditionally.

standing in Ohio who will risk his reputation on an opinion that the Federal Government has any power to thus prevent an elector from vot-ing, or to in any manner supervise, control or direct, or meddle with the State election officers

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while conducting a Congressional election under this State law. Such interference is organized anarchy. No officer of a State Government can lawfully be directed or controlled by a Federal officer in the performance of his duties under valid State laws, for each Government is supreme in its sphere as defined by the constitution of the United States. This Federal Election law is, therefore, utterly and obviously unconstitutional.

Mr. Sharman makes a faint attempt to instify

the constitution of the United States. This Federal Election law is, therefore, utterly and obviously theoretitational.

Mr. Sherman makes a faint attempt to justify the Bepublican party in enacting this law by distining that there were 30,000 fillegal votes cast in the city of New York in 1858; but he does not pretend that experience has proved the law to have been a wise one, for he knows that wherever its power has been invoked the Deputies employed and paid out of the public treasury have been largely poor Democrata bribed to desert their party for \$5 a day, and still more largely the most dispicable scoundrels that could be raked from the hells of the big cities. The law has demonstrated itself everywhere to be the basest and corroptest instrument of partisanship ever seized upon to stay the downfall of a party in power.

Dodging the question of the constitutionality and expediency of the law, Mr. Sherman arraigns Gen. Blee and myself for having refused appropriations of money to hire these spies and Marshals to intermeddic with State elections. He says the "withholding of public money for this purpose is a more dangerous opposition than the attempted nullification of the Tariff laws by South Carolina, put down by Gen. Jackson, or even the attempted secession put down by dryll war. By this doctrine inflineation and secession are made easy by the refusal of a majority of either house to obey the law." He seems particularly sorry to find Gen. Rice and myself, after our "honorable record during the war," in this terrible attitude of nullification and rebellion. "If they were right during the war, they are wrong now. I have no disposition to arraign them, but I prefer to fellow the old Republican fing that was hoisted in 1854." Stor there, Mr. Sherman! I want, in the midst of your patriotic percention, to call your attention to the fact that in following the Republican fing in 1856 you, yourself, offered an amendment to the Army Appropriation of the enactments of the alleged Legislative Assembly o' the Territo

of the Thirty fourth Congress, leaving the army without a dollar of appropriations; and, further, that when the President called Congress together again you voted to adhere to your amendment, and undertook to force the adjournment of the second session without permitting the passage of the Army Appropriation bill, but were overruled by a few of your conservative Republican colleagues joining the Democrate and saving the army from disbandment for want of an appropriation.

As you seem to have forgotten this striking page in your political history, I refer you to the Congressional Globe, Thirty-fourth Congress, part second, 1853-56, pages 1, 754, 1, 739, 1, 794 and 2,340, and page 18 of the appendix. I lou will find the reterences handy, as they are all in one volume.

The difference between your position then and now is this: Then you were struggling against a bad use of Federal troops in a Territory, over which the Federal Government had supreme control; and now you are struggling for a bad use of Federal troops and Marshals to control State elections, with which the Federal Government had supreme control; and now you are struggling for a bad use of Federal troops and Marshals to control State elections, with which the Federal Government has nothing whatever to do. You were willing to disband the whole army then rather than suffer the Federal Government to exercise its undoubted powers; and now you denounce as rebels and unlifters men who served through the war for the Union, while you prospered in peace and comfort at home, for disbanding your hordes of partisans, pald from the common treasury of the people to wrest from them the control of their ballot-box.

I am not disposed, my fellow-citizens, to claim that in the ordinary exercise of its pow-I am not disposed, my fellow-citizans, to claim that in the ordinary exercise of its pow-ers Congress is at liberty to withhold appro-priations for purposes prescribed by law. We did not withhold any appropriations the fail-ure of which is at all likely to interfere with did not withhold any appropriations the failure of which is at all tikely to interfere with any of the departments of the Government in the exercise of their ordinary and acknowledged powers. We merely forbade the use of any money appropriated for the army to transport or maintain troops at the polls; and we withheld no appropriations, except for the fees of Marshals and their deputies. We knew that all the Marshals would be patriotic enough to hold on to their offices and draw their regular salaries, and perform all their ordinary and useful duties, trusting to Congress to pay their fees for legitimate service. We merely resolved that the public treasures should not be wasted, nor the control of our State elections interfered with by hiring bummers and shoulder-hitters, or bribing needy men out of the common treasure of the people. And we now appeal from the advocates of Federal interference to the lovers of home rule to sustain our action. We will let the ballot-box itself declare whether it is safer in the hands and under the control of the officers of the election precincts, or of emissaries hired by the administration and backed by havenois. election precincts, or of emissaries hired by the administration and backed by bayonets. This is not revolution nor nullification nor se-cession; but only an orderly, honest and pat-riotic appeal from Casar to the people.

Marriage as a Test. How remarkable it is that whenever

an enthusiast in religion gets new light, and adopts what he considers "advanced views," he almost invariably begins to tamper with marriage! In this tam-pering he always betrays the charlatan, and sufficiently warns all who are tempted to follow him to beware of him. There is no better test of a new system or scheme of life than its rela-tion to Christian marriage. If it tam-pers with that it is always bad, and can by no possibility be good. The Shakers form a community built on this rotten foundation. They destroy the family, root and branch. They have no place for love, and enter into a determined and organized fight with the God of Nature, who, by the strongest passions and impulses He has ever implanted in the human soul, has commanded them to establish families and homes. Shakerism is good for nothing if it is not good universally—if it ought not to be adopted universally. But universal adoption would be the suicide of a race, and a race has no more right to commit suicide than a man. Besides, the damming of one of the most powerful streams in human nature only sets the water back to cover the banks it was intended to nourish and to drain. It is too late to talk about the superior sanc tity of the celibate. We have no faith in it whatever. The vow of chastity simply emphasizes in the mind the pas-sion it is intended, for spiritual reasons, to suppress, and fixes the attention upon it. The Shaker, in denying love to himself and all the hallowed influences that grow out of family and home, gains nothing in holiness, if he do not lose irretrievably. He is the victim of a shocking mistake, and he disgraces imself and his own father and mother by his gross views of an institution before whose purity and beneficence he and his whole system stand condemned.

Of course we do not need to allude to the Mormon. His views of marriagerevealed, of course—are simply beastly. But these new schemes of life, religion and philosophy are constantly springing up. It is very difficult for any sys-tem of socialism to establish itself with-out tampering with marriage, and one of the best arguments against all sorts what-nots of that sort, is that the fam ily, as a unit, is unmanageable within them. They can take in and organize a miscellaneous mass of individu provide some sort of a dirty substitute

The Enton Democrat.



WIT AND HUMOR.

Is the knot in a porker's tail a pig

PROGTOR, the astronomer, will return to this country next winter. TUMBLERS that have milk in them should never be put in hot water.

THERE are 815 physicians in Chicago, of whom fifty-five are women. Taking medicine will make a well man sick much quicker than it will make a sick man well.

"On," she said, "I think sods water is is sods-licious." He took the hint and sods dime on the harvest field of love. MISTRESS: Bridget, didn't you hear me call?" Bridget: "Yis, mum; but you towld me the other day niver to answer ye back—and I didn't."

"Throw him a rope," is the proper thing to say when you see a friend of yours over-bored. The effect is mag-ical.

"Ir's only a spring opening, ma," ex-claimed that swful boy, as he exhibited his torn trousers after a leap over a

To be a first-rate archer, you must have an arrow chest and be bow-legged. And even then your aim won't be first-

Tran one and one make really two Most people will acknowledge true; Yet even to "iths" rule we find Exception dear to lover's mind; Thus, you and I, and I and you. Are one and one, and still "not" we Least so to me the figures run. For surely, darling, we are one!

AUNTY—"Well, love, did Mr. McSil ler propose?" Edith—"No, sunty, bu. he was on the verge of it when—"Aunty—"When what, darling?" Edith "When the clock struck and reminded him that there was only time to catch the last cheap train, and he had a return ticket."

death, concluded with the following ob-servation: "But even death, my breth-ren, so well deserved by mankind for their sins, the wisdom of Providence has, in its paternal kindness, put at the end of our existence; for only think what life would be worth if death were at the beginning!"

STATE STATEMENT. I never in the State of Maine have ever taken to Yet all of its inhabitants are very fond of "Me." About the "Old Bay State" there's something to strangs to pass,
For all who go to Boaton are sure to go to "Mess. The folks in "Little Rhody" may not be very dry yet every person seems to have a fervent love for "E. L."

In the Centennial "Keystone State" the women and the men
Talk proudly of their worthy "Pu.," and also of his "Fean." And even we in Gotham, with prospects proud and high. Well know our State in always near, because of course We "N. F."

Far in the South quite "Ala." mode, a mighty State

And now I think I'll cease my rhymes—no doubt

The Old Songs. "Take back the heart," as the man said who drew one when he wanted a

"Gum, gum away to the pearly foun-tain," was sung by the man who dropped his store teeth into the creek.

"A loan in the world," was given with great effect by the man who had to raise \$900 by Saturday noon.

"All's swell," was composed and sung by the man who sat down on an oak stump, using a navy-blue wasp for a combined. "Bee ware" was the national song of

the honey merchants.
"Down by the sea-beat shore" was the sad refrain of a man whose sum "Dream, baby, dream," was sung and said very energetically by the man who patroled the floor while the colic pa-

patroled the floor while the cone patroled his baby.

"Good-bye, sweet tart," was chanted by the dyspeptic man who couldn't eat pie.

"Somebody is waiting for me," was wailed out by the man who had been to the Lodge, lost his night key, and could see the shadow of his wife's mother's

night-capped head on the curtain of the sitting-room.
"Larboard watch" is the favorite lay of the recent idiot who wears two watches.—Burlington Hawk Eye.

When Mme. Patti's matrimonial affairs became a trifle mixed, the Czar declared that she should not sing again in St. Petersburg, and, hearing of the imperial statement, the lady, with an independence that is characteristic of prima donne, accepted the situation and declared she would not sing in the Russian and the statement of the statement of the situation and declared she would not sing in the Russian and the statement of the statem sian capital. In the course of time, however, his Imperial Majesty became less straight-laced. Mme. Patti is a popular prima donna, and anything that can divert the minds of Russians from and obtained at any cost. The lady was invited to sing on liberal terms, and declined; the terms were raised to £800 a night, and she declined again. Then £1,000 was offered, and the bait was too tempting to be resisted. Signor Nicoline is also engaged.

Granger A.—"Well, I was up in New England last June and found them planting—such late planting beets all I ever seed—its a harrowing fact, but its sow, all the same."
Granger B.—"Hay day! I wouldn't

give a straw to farm in such a slow country—they ought to emigrate to Texas and raise Cain." A .- "That'll dew; don't rake up any

more yarns—you may get me all in a maize. Lettuce have peas." B.—You'd better take that ear corn of yourn to millet will relieve your

A.—Oat is wheat to hear the early bird,
To listen to the lowing herd.
But neither is half as sweet as seeing a
fresh Yankee girl of radishing beauty and trying to cultivator acqu by singing 'hoe Emma, etc.

Killing a Four-Hundred-Pound Ox with a Pistol-Ball. A gentleman of this county, last Sun-

day afternoon, found an ox in his cornfield. In driving him out, and for the purpose of frightening him away from his premises, he shot at him with a common Smith & Wesson repeater; for marriage, but the family bothers them. It is a government within a government, that they cannot get along with. So the marriage test is a good one in all cases of the kind.—Scribner.

BROWN—"Can you break me a \$5 bill?" Jones—"I should like to break it, but unfortunately I'm broke myself."

common Smith & Wesson repeater; the distance was about seventy-five yards, yet he killed him almost instantive for eshoulder, broke a rib, and passed almost entirely through his body in the region of the heart. The oxweighed over 400 pounds, and belonged to a neighbor.—Americus (Ga.) Recorder.